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ABSTRACT

Analyzing media images of education through the Example, Rule Indicator, Behavior System (EXRIB) can provide meaningful results was the conclusion of an assessment of the mass media's impact on how children view education. EXRIB (Hobbs and Kleinburg, 1980) is a framework for the statement of objectives in behavioural terms, developed as part of the work of the Classroom Interaction Project. The comic strip, "Oor Wullie", was analyzed to assess how education was portrayed in Scotland. "Oor Wullie" has been featured regularly in Scottish newspapers read by 79 percent of the over 15-year-old population. The subjects that were referred to most often were English and arithmetic. Oor Wullie disliked school which was portrayed as being very traditional with desks arranged in rows and materials limited to paper, pencil, and blackboard. Teachers were portrayed giving instructions and assignments. There was more disapproval of Wullie's behavior than approval. The main limitation of the study was the lack of well elaborated hypotheses to test. (SM)

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OOR WULLIE GOES TO SCHOOL: A FIRST LOOK

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INTRODUCTION

This paper seeks to explore some issues concerning the depiction of education in the mass media. It will deal with these issues within two broad parameters, one substantive, on methodological.

The substantive: the overall aims is to contribute to an understanding of the influence of mass media on the audiences, in particular, the influence on children exerted by the mass media's portrayal of education. To elucidate such a matter requires analysis to be focused on two objects, the children and the media. Focus on only one of these cannot in itself lead to an understanding of the extent and nature of such influence. Progress towards understanding may well require us from time to time to pay more attention to the one than the other. In this paper the focus is on the media, and the aim is to develop appropriate methods of content analysis for "fiction" or "non-news" materials.

The methodological: it is possible that the study of media portrayal of education may profit from the use of methods used for the study of education itself. In particular, this paper makes use of methods which treat education as (i) social behaviour, and (ii) goal-orientated. In other words education is a process of social influence (planned and unplanned) whose legitimacy is usually discussed in terms of goals sought and/or achieved. The EXRIB system was devised to facilitate the analysis of the relationship between goal-stating and teaching, on the assumption that the comparison of stated goals and the actual learning process is problematic (Hobbs and Kleinberg, 1978). The basic method advocated involves "translating" "goal" statements and observations of teaching into a common format. Since fictional representation of education may include both statements of goals (or implying goals) and representations of teaching, it seemed worth trying to discover whether EXRIB could usefully be adapted for this purpose.

OOR WULLIE

A number of considerations led to the choice of "Oor Wullie" as the "trial" subject matter for this exploratory study.

(i) Prima faciae cultural significance: since 1936, this comic strip had been a regular feature of a newspaper which as is well know has one of the highest success rates for achieving saturation of the potential reading population. (McWhirter and McWhirter, 1973, estimated its readership as 79% of the over 15 year old population of Scotland, which suggests an equivalent sort of child readership for its comic section.)

(ii) Accessibility: although runs of the Sunday Post may normally be consulted only in libraries, book-format collections of the strips have appeared regularly since the 1950s and second hand copies may be obtained with relative ease.

TABLE 1

	Schooling	Police	Church	Strips Total
1958	7	12	0	94
1968	9	25	1	94
1978	13	23	0	94
Total	29	60	1	282
Percentage of total strips (Rounded off)	10%	21%	-	100%

(iii) Content: films, TV series, novels, plays, etc. which are self-evidently "about" education are likely to contain so much material on education, that the exploratory use of new methods of analysis might well flounder in the face of such rich and complex material. The Oor Wullie strips are self-contained, around 20 frames long, so that even when education is the main "topic" the material for analysis will be relatively simple. Furthermore, the presence of the whole of the "work" on a single page, makes the logistic side of the analysis much more straightforward than for most other media forms. Such considerations are important not only for testing out a new analytical technique, but also if the method is to be adopted for instructional purposes (use in the classroom).

SAMPLE

In the present paper the main sample considered consists of the strips appearing in three "Oor Wullie" books, one undated (but identified as published in 1958) and two dated 1968 and 1978 respectively, thus giving a reasonably broad time spread, 1958 being from the earlier decade of the regular publications (Adley and Lofts 1975). All three consulted contained 94 strips. One year of the Sunday Post newspaper was also consulted, the year being 1946, with a view to checking whether different mode of publication and/or earlier date might throw up clearly different content, but no obvious difference emerged.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

To what extent does "Oor Wullie" deal with education? To answer such a question requires us to set some criterion of what does and does not count as education. It was decided that it would be most convenient to deal with "schooling" rather than education in a broad sense. Accordingly informal learning and voluntary instruction outwith the school system (e.g. music lessons) were excluded. To be classified as dealing with schooling, even if only minimally, a strip has to have at least one of the following characteristics:

(i) a character represented as a school member of staff, e.g. teacher, headteacher, janitor, cleaner, inspector;

(ii) a scene taking place in school (including playground); a frame depicting a schoolbag or entry to or exist from school does not in itself count;

(iii) a character refers to school or an artifact of schooling is represented (examples: talking about truanting, an exercise book, a report card).

In order to provide a context for the assessment of the role of schooling in the strips, two other social institutions were examined.

(a) Police: policeman or station represented or referred to in dialogue;

(b) Clergyman or church represented or referred to in dialogue;

The results of this analysis are found in Table 1.

TABLE II : DEPICTING EDUCATION

	INDIRECT (ALLUDED TO)	DIRECT (DEPICTED)
1958:10	x	
21		x
30	x	
34		x
38	x	
49		x
72		x
1968:14		x
25	x	
27		x
29		x
42		x
47	x	
64		x
83		x
91		x
1978: 4		x
6		x
18		x
22	x	
23		x
30		x
32	x	
41		x
43	x	
54		x
55	x	
63		x
69		x
	9	20

Thus at about 10%, the number of strips dealing with schooling, although less than half those dealing with the police, nevertheless constitute a larger topic than the church, which is almost entirely missing from these strips. It might appear that concern with education is rising slightly. However, this trend is unlikely to be a substantial one since Sunday Post strips in 1946 included 7 (out of 52) which deal with schooling which, at 13% of the total possible, is only marginally lower than the figure for the 1978 book (14%).

DEPICTING EDUCATION

The ways in which education is portrayed in the 29 strips identified in our sample vary considerably, from a single frame alluding to homework to a whole strip entirely focussed on some aspect of schooling. For convenience of discussion "education" strips may be placed in one of two categories:

(a) Direct: processes of teaching and learning are actually depicted (usually in the classroom but also including trips outdoors and a school play).

(b) Indirect: schooling is alluded to in characters' speech or by an artifact such as a report card.

(Strips which include both of these types of representation are classified as "Direct").

This division corresponds to the distinction in the EXRIB system between the analysis of teaching as it actually takes place, on the one hand and the analysis of statements about teaching, on the other.

Cases in the "Direct" category clearly predominate, making up 20 of the 29 education strips (see Table II).

TEACHING CONTENT

All of the strips, whether Direct or Indirect in their treatment of education, were analysed for their educational content, by which is meant in this context what "subjects" are taught. (Thus, for the moment, issues such as possible "hidden curriculum" are left aside). The methods of classifying and labelling teaching content change and it seemed appropriate, in attempting to discover what content was covered, to use the actual categories used in the strips themselves as far as possible. In some cases this is quite straightforward, since "Arithmetic", "English" and "History", for example, are actual terms used. In cases where no such label was used, the EXRIB method of inferring goals (and hence content) was used. This involves identifying three categories of information:

(a) What teachers say, do and provide with the apparent aim of instigating pupil activity.

(b) Pupil behaviour.

(c) Teacher reaction, favourable and unfavourable, to pupil behavior.

TABLE III : TEACHING CONTENT

		Source:Indirected ALLUDED TO	Source:Direct DEPICTED
1958:10	I	ARITHMETIC EXAM	-
21	D	-	NIL
30	I	-	-
34	D	-	ENGLISH: Poem set as homework
38	I	-	-
49	D	-	ENGLISH: Essay set as homework
72	D	-	NIL
1968:14	D	-	ENGLISH: Poem set as homework
25	I	-	-
27	D	-	HISTORY: Questions
29	D	-	(blackboard work illegible) NIL
42	D	-	ARITHMEIC: Questions
47	I	-	-
64	D	-	NIL
83	D	-	ENGLISH: Poem set as homework
91	D	-	DRAMA: Xmas school Play
1978: 4	D	-	NIL
6	D	GEORGRAPHY cancelled	SCIENCE: Nature Study, "The meadow" ART: Drawing, "The park" HISTORY: Trip P.E.: School sports practice
18	D	-	(unspecified homework)
22	I	REPORT CARD: ARITHMETIC REPORT CARD: ENGLISH	-
23	D	-	ENGLISH: Talk to class
30	D	-	NIL
32	I	-	-
41	D	-	CRAFT: MODELLING ARITHMETIC: "sums" P.E.: Football
43	I	REPORT CARD: GENERAL	-
54	D	-	MUSIC: singing
55	I	HOMEWORK: UNSPECIFIED	-
63	D	-	HISTORY: Trip to castle "visit"
69	D	-	SOCIAL ED.: Kindness to animals

A dash (-) indicates teaching is not alluded to or depicted.
"NIL" indicates teaching is depicted, but no evidence is available of content.
Underlined words are used in the strips themselves, non-underlined descriptions are summaries of what is depicted or referred to.

1958:10
CONTENT ALLUDED TO
ARITHMETIC

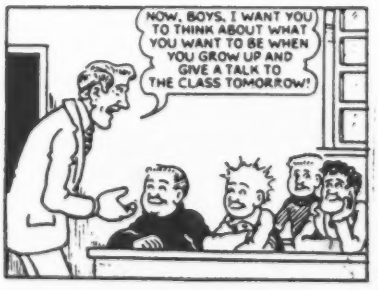
1978:22
CONTENT ALLUDED TO
ARITHMETIC
AND ENGLISH

ARITHMETIC - TERRIBLE!
ENGLISH - SHOCKING!
WILLIAM TRIES, BUT HE IS COMPLETELY LACKING IN IMAGINATION!
REPORT CARD
JINGS! I'VE NO IMAGINATION!

INSENUJI
HAS YE SEEN MA JUMPIN' PADDOCK, SOAPY P
HIDE IT, WULLIE. TEACHER'S COMIN'!
WILLIAM, WHAT IS THAT YOU WERE PLAYING WITH JUST NOW?
OH - ER - NOTHIN', MISS.
SCREEEECH
OH, JINGS!

1958:21
TEACHING DEPICTED
NO EVIDENCE OF CONTENT

1978:6
CONTENT DEPICTED
ART



1978:23
CONTENT DEPICTED
ENGLISH AND
CAREERS EDUCATION

This method was applied to Direct representations. Although the EXRIB system of analysing educational statements was available, the allusions to content in the Indirect representations was so brief and straightforward as to make its use unnecessary.

Tables III and IV summarize the findings with respect to teaching content of the strips. In 5 of the 20 Direct strips, no content could be identified; likewise of 6 of 9 of those in the Indirect category. The range and balance of those subjects which can be identified is not particularly suprising. English and Arithmetic are the most frequent; the position of English as the most common subject arises from five cases of the artist using a particular narrative device. This is to start the strip with the setting of a homework task (poem, essay or preparing a talk) which provides the occasion for the majority of the frames in the strip as Wullie seeks material. The strip then ends with the presentation of the homework and the teacher's reaction. The absence of certain subjects is to be noted. There is no physical science, no religious education, and geography appears only as being cancelled in favour of practice for school sports. It may be noted, too, that boundaries between school subjects are not always clear; for example, the prepared talk classified in the tables as "English" might also be regarded as part of Careers Education.

DOES WULLIE LIKE SCHOOL?

Wullie is shown reacting to school in a variety of ways. If one distinguishes between verbal and nonverbal behaviour, the verbal can reasonably be given precedence. Nonverbal indications of satisfaction and dissatisfaction can be clear but words are much more readily linked to an object of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Nonverbal signs, most notably smiles and frowns, whilst fairly easy to identify in themselves, require further information from the context, if the object supposedly giving rise to the reaction is to be named. In practice,it would appear that the artist most commonly uses the verbal and the nonverbal together. Each time a statement by Wullie expressing positive or negative reaction to schooling appears, there is generally to be found an equivalent facial expression. In only one case (1978:6) does a difficulty of interpretation arise because of apparent discrepancy between the verbal and nonverbal, and that problem only appears because a relatively detailed level of analysis is attempted.

Wullie's statements about school can be placed in four categories.

(a) Going to school This includes statements such as "Ach, off to school ... What a scunner! "(1968:25). Such statements can be classified as favorable or unfavorable, usually without much difficulty. When the wording itself is capable of differing interpretations, e.g. "Time for school" (1978:18), the accompanying facial expression allows us to classify it; in the example quoted a smile leads to the interpretation "favorable". Lateness for school is generally associated with the "unfavorable" outlook, since lateness suggests unwillingness to go to school rather than do other things. The intention to play truant in a statement leads to the classification "unfavorable".

TABLE IV

TEACHING CONTENT CLASSIFIED

	INDIRECT	DIRECT	TOTAL
SUBJECT			
ARITHMETIC	2	2	4
ENGLISH	1	5	6
HISTORY	-	3	3
GEORGRAPHY	1	-	-
ARTS: DRAMA	-	1	1
MUSIC	-	1	1
ART/CRAFT	-	2	2
P.E.: FOOTBALL	-	1	1
RUNNING	-	1	1
SCIENCE: Nature Study	-	1	1
SOCIAL EDUCATION: Animals	-	1	1

Each entry represents a strip containing a reference to a topic; some strips occur more than once through referring to more than one topic.

(b) Off school, leaving school Here the attitude to school is inferred from the pleasure of going home, going home early, or being on holiday, e.g. "Friday at last: No school tommorrow" (1978:4) and, referring to unsatisfactory holiday activities, "This is worse than school" (1968:47).

(c) Tasks This category includes reactions to being set specific tasks, actual or envisaged, set by the teacher, e.g. "Ach! I've got homework the night." (1968:83) or statements indicating avoidance of such a task, e.g. "Oh! Jings! I forgot about that talk ..." (1978:23). General statements about school subjects are also included, e.g. "Ach! I dinna like music!" (1978:54).

(d) Performance This includes both direct comments on his own performance, reports of teacher reaction to his performance and comments on teaching reaction, "Haw!Haw! Some fairy" (1968:91) referring to his own efforts in the school play, and "What's Pa going to say about this" (1978:22) referring to his report card. Note that performance is a category covering not only quality of work on academic tasks, but also conformity to school rules of discipline.

Table V shows the verbal statements in each category, classified as favorable and unfavorable. Only one substantial problem occurred when classifying the material. Overwhelmingly, the nonverbal behaviour parallels the verbal. However in 1978:6, Wullie is shown with a total of 17 unhappy expressions whilst performing school tasks. No verbal statement indicating dislike of these specific tasks appears, however,and a statement near the end of the strip refers to his dislike at being at school at all on such a nice day. (The joke is that virtually all school activities actually took place out of doors.) So no entry appears for this strips in the task category, the "unfavorable" response is to school generally, hence it is classified as "Going".

The interpretation of the performance category is left aside for the moment, since it is so intimately linked to the issues around teacher approval and disapproval, dealt with later. The other categories show overwhelmingly a dislike for school. Only one specific school activity is commented on favorably, football. Leaving school, including leaving school unexpectedly early, and being on holiday are always reacted of favorably. Going to school is treated as a burden in most cases, though it should be noted that the few favorable reactions to going to school occur in later strips. The numbers are small, however, and too much should not be made of this on the basis of the present evidence available.

THE CHARACTER OF SCHOOLING

We have seen that Wullie is presented as someone who does not like school. But what does "school" amount to in the strips? A partial answer to this question had already been given when the content of the lessons was discussed. However, this by no means is a total answer for it takes no account of the ways in which the pupil's behaviour is controlled by the school or, from another point of view, what the character of the pupil's experience of school is. The EXRIB approach to teaching focusses on the pupil's behaviour and interpretes it in the light

TABLE V : WULLIE'S STATEMENTS

FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE TO SCHOOLING

		FAVORABLE	UNFAVORABLE
CATEGORY: GOING	1958:10		xx
(includes: going per se,	:30		xx
lateness, deciding to	1968:25		xx
truant)	29		x
	64		xx
	1978: 4		x
	6		x°
° one verbal statement but	18	x	
17 unfavorable facial	30	x	xx
expressions	69	x	
		3	13
CATEGORY: OFF	1958:10	x	
(includes: leaving school,	38	x	
being on holiday,	72	xx	
school closing early)	1968:29	xx	
	42	x	
	47	xx	
	64	x	
	1978: 4	xx	
		12	0
CATEGORY: TASK	1968:14		x
(includes comments on	42		xx
tasks set, subject	83		xxx
matter)	91		x
	1978:23		x
	32		x
	41	x	
	54		xx
	69		x
		1	12
CATEGORY:PERFORMANCE	1958:34	x	
(includes direct comments	49	x	
on own performance and	1968:14		x
reactions to teachers'	91	x	
assessment).	1978:22		xxx
	23	x	
	30		x
	41		x
	43		x
	69		x
		4	8

ANNEX TO TABLE V: WULLIE'S STATEMENTS
FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE TO SCHOOLING

1958:30
GOING Category
UNFAVORABLE

1976:6
GOING Category
UNFAVORABLE

4PM
I'LL AWAY HOME NOW.
WHAT'S WRONG, MY WEE LAMB? YE'VE NOT BEEN VERY BRIGHT TODAY!
ACH, MAW, IT'S THIS GRAND WEATHER AND ME COOPED UP IN SCHOOL ALL DAY!

1958:30
OFF Category
FAVORABLE

1968:29
OFF Category
FAVORABLE

MISS SIMPKINS IS A BAG OF NERVES! SHE'S GONE HOME! YOU'D BETTER TAKE THE MORNING OFF, BOYS! CLASS DISMISSED!
GOOD OLD WULLIE! A HALF-HOLIDAY!
YIPPEE!

1978:54
TASK Category
UNFAVORABLE

1978:41
TASK Category
FAVORABLE

1968:14
PERFORMANCE Category
UNFAVORABLE

1978:41
PERFORMANCE Category
UNFAVORABLE

of antecedent conditions, and subsequent/consequent conditions (teacher approval and disapproval in particular).

The Antecedents of Pupil Behaviour These may be discussed under three headings, two of which will be dealt with only briefly.

(i) Physical setting: most of the schooling in the strips takes place in the tradition classroom with desks arranged in rows facing the teacher's desk and blackboard. There are some lessons depicted elsewhere, however. In some cases the subject makes this inevitable (e.g. football and the school play). In other cases, some degree of choice by the staff seems implied; these include planned school trips (for "history" teaching) and ad hoc "Fine weather" classes held out of doors (including nature study and drawing).

(ii) Materials: A high proportion of pupil work shown involves paper/jotter and pencil, sometimes supplemented with textbook, but there are some other materials depicted including drawing boards, glue and brushes, costumes and scenery (for the school play) and music sheets (with teacher playing the piano). For both materials and physical setting the overall impression gained is the conception of schooling presented is neither particularly narrow nor particularly broad.

(iii) Teachers' verbal behaviour: Table VI summarizes verbal instructions given by the teachers' portrayed. Included as "instructions" are all cases of teachers' speech which can be constued as being intended to lead to subsequent pupil action, either immediatley or long term. (Excluded are cases of teacher approval or disapproval, which might also be regarded as intended to influence subsequent behaviour, but which is dealt with as a separate category below). The most common single category is the announcement of subject, which makes up about a quarter of all cases. "Content statements" involve "lecturing" or teaching narrowly conceived, i.e. "telling" the pupils something. Of the six cases, five involve giving "facts" and one is the statement of a "rule" summing up a lesson. "Timing" statements include two "start" or "stop" instructions but 4 of the 6 are requests for homework to be presented; these are classified as "Timing" rather than as "Content Questions" because the presuppositon is that the pupil's work has already been done; only the occasion for presentatin is being specified. "Materials" refers to statements made when materials are presented or instructions about their disposition. Questions are classed as either "Content" or "Reactive", the former (3 cases) referring to questions arising out of the subject matter being taught, the latter (1 case) referring to questions arising out of a pupil's work, such as a request for clarification. "Examination" is a marginal category for the strips sampled, no examination is show but there is one case of Wullie seeking to avoid an exam (which didn't in the event take place). The final category is "Non-Content Tasks" which includes running errands or giving other help to the teacher. It can be seen that teachers' verbal instuctions also show a good deal of variety of form, but the overall impression created is of a highly "traditional" form of schooling where the teacher gives little opportunity for pupil choice, where doing the right thing at the right time is the normal expectation and where the teacher's authority over the pupil is broad, extending as it does beyond the bounds of school subjects.

TABLE VI

TEACHER VERBAL INSTRUCTION

STRIP	SOURCE°	FORM
1958:10	-	[EXAMINATION]*
34	T_F	SETS HOMEWORK
	T_F	TIMING
49	T_F	SETS HOMEWORK
	T_F	TIMING
72	H_M	NON-CONTENT TASK
1968:14	T_F	[SETS HOMEWORK]*
	T_F	TIMING
27	T_M	CONTENT QUESTION
	T_M	CONTENT QUESTION
42	T_M	CONTENT QUESTION
83	T_F	[SETS HOMEWORK]*
91	T_M	MATERIALS
	T_M	TIMING
1978: 6	T_F	ANNOUNCES SUBJECT
	T_F	CONTENT STATEMENT
	H_M	NON-CONTENT TASK
	T_M	ANNOUNCES SUBJECT
	T_M	MATERIALS
	T_M	TIMING
	T_M	ANNOUNCES SUBJECT
	T_M	CONTENT STATEMENT
	T_M	ANNOUNCES SUBJECT
23	T_M	SETS HOMEWORK
	T_M	TIMING
	T_M	REACTIVE QUESTION
32	T_F	NON-CONTENT TASK**
41	T_M	ANNOUNCES SUBJECT
	T_M	ANNOUNCES SUBJECT
54	T_M	ANNOUNCES SUBJECT
63	T_M	ANNOUNCES SUBJECT
	X_M	CONTENTS STATEMENT
	X_M	CONTENTS STATEMENT
	X_M	CONTENTS STATEMENT
69	T_M	ANNOUNCES SUBJECT
	T_M	CONTENT STATEMENT

Summary

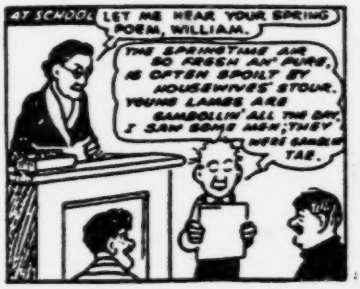
Announces Subject	9
Content Statement	6
Timing	6
Material	2
Sets Homework	5
Content Question	3
Reactive Question	1
Examination	1
Non-Content Talk	3
Total	36

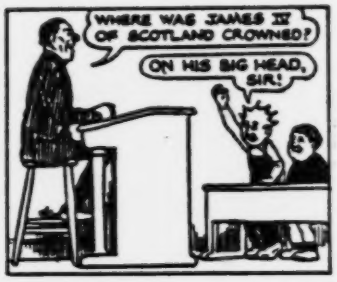
*[ ] not depicted, alluded to in Wullie statement.
** depicted in an imagination "thinks bubble" of Wullie's
° sources: Teacher/Headteacher; Male/Female; x = Guide on school trip.

ANNEX TO TABLE VI: TEACHERS INITIATING PUPIL BEHAVIOUR

SETS HOMEWORK
1958:34

TIMING
1958:34


AT SCHOOL
LET ME HEAR YOUR SPRING POEM, WILLIAM.
THE SPRINGTIME AIR SO FRESH AN' PURE, IS OFTEN SPOILT BY HOUSEWIVES' STOUR. YOUNG LAMBS ARE GAMBOLLIN' ALL THE DAY. I SAW SOME MEN; THEY WERE PAINTIN TAR.

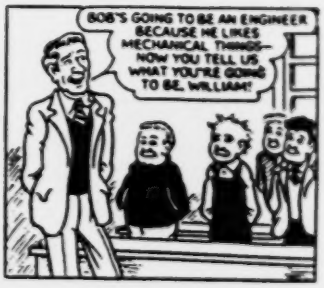


CONTENT QUESTION
1968:27

BLACKBOARD WORK (NOT LEGIBLE)
1968:29

MATERIALS/ TIMING
1968:91

GIVES INFORMATION
1978:6



TIMING 1978:23

ANNOUNCES SUBJECT 1978:41

Teacher Reaction to Pupil Behaviour. Teacher reaction had been classified wherever possible as either "Approval" or "Disapproval". Table VII lists all cases identified, giving both the form the approval or disapproval took and the behaviour to which it refers. Also listed is the pupil concerned (usually, but not always, Wullie himself). It is hoped that the code explanation and notes are self explanatory and that along with the Annex to Table VII will give a reasonably clear picture of what had been identified. As with Wullie's statements Verbal and Nonverbal indicators of the teacher's reaction tend to go hand in hand. However, as well as nonverbal and verbal categories, various forms of "emphasis" have also been used, such as corporal punishment, marks and lines.

Two points require comment. First there is a case where the teacher's reaction seems ambiguous, when Wullie reports receiving the booby prize; "booby" implies disapproval, "prize" implies approval. Since the giving of the prize is not depicted but reported by Wullie, we don't have any of the teacher's nonverbal behaviour to aid interpretation, so this is classified as both approval and disapproval. Wullie is shown as pleased with the booby prize which leads us to the second issue for comment. In the main, there is a correspondence between on one hand, the teacher's approval and disapproval, and on the other hand, the pupil's satisfaction and dissatisfaction, but this is not always the case. There are four cases where Wullie and/or his pals achieve a satisfactory outcome unplanned by the teachers (typically earlier than expected release from school). There is too one case where the teacher's praise (1978:18) leads Wullie to react" ... No row from the teacher - I'll be getting soft." These could all be treated as cases where the teacher's efforts at control went wrong. The most striking point to emerge from the analysis of teacher approval and disapproval, however, is simply that disapproval overwhelmingly outnumbers approval (26 cases as opposed to 6). Even that fails to convey sufficiently the extent to which teachers are shown to criticize and punish rather than praise and reward. Approval is typically depicted in a single frame, disapproval is frequently more extensive. Of the six cases of approval, one is ambiguous and one does not lease Wullie satisfied (both noted above). This leaves only four relatively unequivocal cases, where teacher approval left Wullie satisfied, which is exactly the number of cases where Wullie achieved satisfaction unplanned by the teacher. School, then, is not a place where one can normally expect to be to be made happy by the teacher. Is that why Wullie dislikes it?

TABLE VII (see next page for code)

TEACHER APPROVAL/DISAPPROVAL

	T+ (approval)		T- (disapproval)		TARGET
	FORM	BEHAVIOUR	FORM	BEHAVIOUR	PUPIL
1958:10	-	-	-	-	-
21	-		V^2NV^4	Play,Non attention	W
30	-		-		-
34	[Class]	Poem	-		W
38	-		-		
49	["Booby prize"]	Essay	["Booby prize"]	Essay	W
72	-		V^1NV^1	Lateness	W
	-		V^2Corp.	Laughing	o o
1968:14	-		V^1M N V^4	Poem	W
25	-		-		
				V NV	
27	-	x	V^1NV^2	Wrong answer	W
			V^3NV^3 Corp	"cheeky"	W
29	-	x	V^4NV^7	Eating in class/ mouse in class	W
42	-	x	V^1NV^1P	Wrong answer	W
47	-		-		
64	-	x	V^3NV^3	Disruption	W
83	-		V^1NV^1	Poem	W
91	-		V^2NV^2	Lateness	W
			NV^1	Stage performance	W
1978: 4	-		V^1NV^1Corp	Lateness	W
6	V NV	Errand	-		W
18	V NV	Offer to stay late	V^2NV^2	Homework presentation	W
	V NV	Homework presentation	V NV**	Homework presentation	W
22	-		[R.C.]	Arithmetic	W
			[R.C.]	English	W
23	[V]NV	Talk to desk			
30	-		V^1NV^1Corp	Lateness	W
			V^1NV^1	Early	W
32	-		-		
33	-		[R.C.]	Unspecified	W
			V^1NV^2	Makes mess	W
43	-		[R.C.]*	Unspecified	W
54	-		V^1NV^2L	Assaults other pupils	W
55	-		-		
63	-	x	V^3NV^3	Misbehaviour	W O
69	-		V^1NV^7[L]	Animals brought to school	W

TABLE VII (continued)

TEACHER APPROVAL/DISAPPROVAL

CODE

Class:	Classification, "top of the class"
Corp:	Corporal:belt
L:	Lines
M:	Marks
NV:	Non verbal
O:	Other pupil
P:	Stand in corner
R.C.:	Report Card
V:	Verbal
W:	Wullie
**	T+ considered unfavorably by W
*	Imagined by W
[ ] T+ or T-	alluded to, not depicted

NOTE (1) "Booby prize" is treated as ambiguous and entered as both T+ and T-

(2) X indicates outcome regarded favorably by W, but unplanned by teacher.

1978:6 APPROVAL Verbal/Nonverbal
Behaviour: Errand

1978:18 APPROVAL
Verbal/Nonverbal
Behaviour: Offer
to stay late

TWA KIPPERS, A PAN LOAF, A PACKET O' OATCAKES, TWA BOXES O' MATCHES, CHEESE, LARD, SOAP POWDER, BACON, MARGARINE, SALT.
I GOT THE BOOBY PRIZE. A POKIE O' SWEETS - FOR GIEN THE TEACHER A BRAW LAUGH!

1958:49
AMBIGUOUS
"Booby Prize"
Behaviour:
Essay

1978:4 DISAPPROVAL Verbal/Nonverbal/
Corporal Punishment Behaviour: Late

TEN PAST NINE.
WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THIS?
PLEASE, MISS. I SLEPT IN!
SNIGGER!
GIGGLE!
FUNNY THE DIFFERENCE SCHOOL MAKES TO GETTIN' UP!

YOU GAVE US A LESSON ON BEING KIND TAE ANIMALS—I THINK YE SHOULD GIE THEM A LESSON ON BEING KIND TAE ME!
HUH! TEACHER WISNA KIND TAE ME EITHER!

1978:69 DISAPPROVAL Nonverbal/Lines
Behaviour: Animals brought to school

WHAT'S 100 DIVIDED BY 25?
IT'S ER-ER-6! NO, I MEAN 5—OR MAYBE 7!
IGNORANT BOY! GO AND SIT IN THE CORNER. YOU CAN STAY IN AFTER SCHOOL AND LEARN YOUR SUMS!

1968:42 DISAPPROVAL Verbal/
Nonverbal/ Stand in Corner
Behaviour: Wrong answer

1978:54 DISAPPROVAL
Verbal/Nonverbal/
Lines Behaviour:
Assaults other pupil

NOT A CONCLUSION

It does not seem appropriate to draw any sort of firm conclusions from this material other than to assert that analysing media images of education in this way does appear to provide meaningful results. The main limitation of what had been attempted is not so much the small sample size as the lack of well elaborated hypotheses to test. Now that a preliminary look had shown that the EXRIB approach had some potential, an attempt to answer more carefully thought out questions seems an appropriate next step. Issues concerning "control" seem particularly suited to the EXRIB system. It's appropriateness for other issues, such as class, remains to be tested. The material sampled seems to have relatively little content directly linked to class, but there certainly are other Oor Wullie strips where class is more prominent. The role of parents in education and issues of gender could be explored in the strips sampled; the two appendices touch on them.

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APPENDIX A:

SCHOOL STAFF

	TEACHER(Female)	TEACHER(Male)	Head*	Janitor*	Cleaner°
1958:10	-	-	-	1	-
21	1	3**	1	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-
34	1	-	-	-	-
38	-	-	-	-	-
49	1	-	-	-	-
72	1	-	1	-	-
Year Total	4	3	2	1	-
1968:14	1	-	-	-	-
25	-	-	-	-	-
27	-	1	-	-	-
29	1	-	1	1	-
42	-	1	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	1	1
64	1	-	-	-	-
83	1	-	-	-	-
91	-	1	-	-	-
Year Total	4	3	1	2	1
1978: 4	1	-	-	-	-
6	1	3	1	-	-
18	1	-	-	-	-
22	-	-	-	-	-
23	-	1	-	-	-
30	-	1	-	-	-
32	1	-	-	-	-
41	-	1	-	-	-
43	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	1	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-
63	-	1	-	-	-
69	-	1	-	-	-
Year Total	4	9	1	-	-
TOTALS	12	15	4	3	1

* Male in each case o Female ** Not shown teaching

APPENDIX B

PARENTS

In seven strips the relationship between parents and schooling is touched on.

1958:10	MOTHER	(a)	"...Whit a dreadful cold... Ye'll hae tae stay aff school."
		(b)	'Ye wee rascal... try tae get aff school wid ye? Kiddin' me on..."
1968:25	MOTHER and FATHER whispering with DOCTOR		
	later:		
	WULLIE		"I wis only kiddin!" [i.e. faked illness to avoid school]
	MOTHER		"That's what the doctor said!"
1978:22	[imagined by Wullie:]		
	FATHER		Five times rejects excuse for loss of Report Card.
	[Depicted]		
	FATHER		Reads out two unfavorable items from Report Card + Nonverbal disapproval.
1978:41	FATHER		Reads Report Card. "Ye'll have tae stick in at school..." + 2 Nonverbal disapproval.
1978:43	[imagined by Wullie:]		
	FATHER		Reads Report Card + 2 Nonverbal disapproval.
	WULLIE		"He'd use ane on' my slippers tae skelp me!
1978:55	[imagined by Father:]		
	MOTHER		"Wullie! Time to de yer homework"
	WULLIE		Hidding.

Thus, parents are not depicted as having specific education goals. Their role is shown as one of control ancillary to that of teachers, requiring attendance at school, performance of homework, and reacting (always unfavorably) to school reports of Wullie's performance.

APPENDIX C: EXRIB FRAMEWORK

(An extract from Hobbs and Kleinberg, 1980)

EXRIB is a framework for the statement of objectives in behavioural terms, developed as part of the work of the Classroom Interaction Project. It is based on the assumption that to be meaningful an objective must refer to circumstances which would indicate whether or not it has been attained.

Although there are many ramifications, the basic system is as follows. The statement of an objective requires information of two sorts, what the individual does, and the conditions in which the action occurs. The key conditions are of two sorts, the "example" with which the individual is to work, and the "rule indicator" which tells what is to be done with the example. Thus the minimal statement of an objective has three parts to it:

EX : example
RI : rule indicator
B : behaviour

An example from mathematics: if a child is expected to be able to say that 2x3=6, then this may be analysed thus:

EX : 2, 3
RI : x, =
B : 6

An example from art: if the child is expected to be able to say that blue and yellow mixed produce green, then this may be analysed thus:

EX : blue, yellow
RI : What colour do you get by mixing ...?
B : green

Elaborations on the basic framework are possible. One particularly useful addition is to specify the modality of the EX, RI and B (which need not all be in the same modality of course). One may distinguish between Speak, Write, Draw and Manipulate, for example. Thus children of different ages may be expected to give the same answer (B) to a question but whereas a younger child may be expected to merely be able to select a card with the correct answer, and older child might be expected to do not only that but be able to write the answer as well.

The EXRIB system may be used in three main ways:(a) as a guide to specifying one's own objectives, (b)as a means of analysing other people's already stated objectives, and (c) as a means of analysing the objectives implicit in observed teaching.